

and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511] ●

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paishda*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipede, red ants, *matginyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimson weed, and *qwdqamund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

Havasupai Home Life 143

the custom among the Walapai. One day, in fact, I came upon a wickiup housing four generations. They were all assembled in the yard that afternoon: blind great-grandfather, sprightly grandfather, father and son—talking and laughing, the older men smoking their pipes. Near by, a partially blind elderly woman, who had lost her husband, kept house for her grandchildren. Others, childless and too old to work, were living out their lives comfortably in the homes of relatives.

This village with its abundance of food and carefree atmosphere formed a strange contrast to the Walapai community, where hunger nibbled at the edges, and poverty and sickness stalked within. Contentment, even happiness permeated the village. Secure in their homes, crop failures unknown, storehouses filled, the People of the Blue Water very naturally remained loyal to their gods, who, from the Days of Old, had watched over the Havasupai families and provided for their welfare.

464 \$50 to \$70 for most of the year; school laborer, \$35 to \$50, and school house-
keeper and cook, \$120.

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465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from \$60 to \$150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of \$4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about \$2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately \$750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about \$300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average \$2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of \$800 to \$1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been \$2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

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434 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consumption. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

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511 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

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[574] Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may become permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If
[425] their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than \$300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level.

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While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level.

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In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain.

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In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns.

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177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for
the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers
to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for
this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one
is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many
household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store
in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter
now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families
have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact
that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in
the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early after-
noon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of
the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their
gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad
in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and
plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means,
but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with
them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[77] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a
small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is
made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of
the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together
where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them,
leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with
blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the